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ADAPTING TEACHER STYLE TO PUPIL DIFFERENCES--TEACHERS FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN.

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THE ASSUMPTIONS OF THIS REVIEW OF STUDIES WHICH EVALUATE TEACHER STYLE AND VERBAL BEHAVIOR AS IT RELATES TO PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT ARE (1) A PUPIL'S LEARNING IS A FUNCTION OF THE INSTRUCTION HE RECEIVES, (2) TEACHERS ARE DIFFERENTIALLY SUITED TO CERTAIN GROUPS, AND (3) DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN NEED TEACHERS WITH SPECIAL TRAINING. IT IS NOTED THAT, IN TERMS OF DECREASING PROFICIENCY, PUPILS HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED AS "STRIVERS," "CONFORMERS," "OPPOSERS," AND "WAVERERS," AND TEACHING STYLE HAS BEEN TERMED "SELF-CONTROLLED," "TURBULENT," AND "FEARFUL." A HYPOTHETICAL MODEL FOR THE DISADVANTAGED PRESENTED HERE STRESSES (1) THE NEED FOR MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING, (2) A REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE ENVIRONMENTALLY BASED, EMOTIONAL AND ACADEMIC PROBLEMS OF STUDENTS, AND (3) THE KNOWLEDGE THAT STANDARD TESTS MEASURE CURRENT ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND ABILITY, AND NOT INNATE INTELLIGENCE. TO UPGRADE ACADEMIC LEVELS, THE TEACHER SHOULD ESTABLISH A BUSINESSLIKE RELATIONSHIP WITH STUDENTS WHICH COMBINES WARMTH, GOOD PEDAGOGICAL TECHNIQUES, AND AN EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS SUBJECT. THE SUCCESSFUL TEACHER SHOULD BLEND ORDER WITH FLEXIBILITY, AND HIS TRAINING, IN ADDITION TO CONTENT MASTERY, SHOULD INCLUDE (1) THE USE OF SOCIAL WORK AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE FINDINGS TO DEVELOP NEW CURRICULUMS AND (2) INSERVICE EXPERIENCE IN THE DEPRESSED AREAS IN WHICH HE WILL WORK. THIS ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED IN THE "MERRILL-PALMER QUARTERLY," 1964. (NH)

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ADAPTING TEACHER STYLE TO PUPIL DIFFERENCES: TEACHERS FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN[1]

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It has become a cliché to state that the major effects on pupil learning result from what goes on in the classroom. We recognize that what the teacher and the pupils do during the five or six hours a day when they are in direct contact with each other is the "compass of learning." And yet, until recently, little of our research has addressed itself to the teaching process. We have studied the achievement of pupils under various methods of instruction, we have described and theorized about the personality characteristics of teachers, we have explored various theoretical formulations about the nature of learning and the effects of varying the administrative deployment of pupils and more recently of teachers have been investigated. We have examined the effects of class size, the functions of the administrator, the guidance counselor and other adjunct personnel of the school. But we still could not describe with any degree of accuracy what teaching is all about, what the teacher actually says and does in the process of teaching, and what effect this has on pupil learning.

Although little may be known about the teaching process in general, even less information is available on the "fit" between particular styles of teaching and the learning of particular pupil populations. This question looms especially large as one considers the problems of teaching children from depressed or disadvantaged areas; pupils who, thus far, have not been effectively "reached" by the teaching procedures to which they have generally been exposed. That various teaching procedures now in use are more or less effective with pupils from more affluent or academically motivating environments is undoubtedly true. But these same procedures, typically learned in teacher education programs, have rarely proved effective with disadvantaged youngsters.

Three assumptions underlie this paper: The first maintains that a pupil's learning is, in large measure, a function of the kind of teaching to which he is exposed. Thus, the extent to which a pupil masters a given set of academic tasks reflects not only his aptitudes and attitudes, but also the appropriateness of the particular approach by which he is taught.

[1] A revision of a lecture presented at The Merrill-Palmer Institute, March, 1963.

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The second assumption, implied by the title, rejects the notion of the universally "good" teacher, equally able to adapt his style to varying pupil populations, and substitutes a conception of a variety of "good" teachers, differentially suited (by temperament and training) to teaching differing groups of students.

The third assumption proposes that children from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds though highly variable, nevertheless represent a describable pupil population in need of teachers who are uniquely "good" for them.

The first portion of this paper presents some of the evidence in support of the first two assumptions, citing studies which point up the variety of teaching styles and their effects on pupil achievement in general and on the achievement of specific categories of pupils in particular. The remainder of the paper proposes a hypothetical model of the successful teacher of disadvantaged pupils and suggests how such a model may be approached.

STUDIES OF TEACHER PERFORMANCE

The last decade has witnessed a number of efforts to study the processes of teaching. The first consideration of most of the studies has been to describe and classify what the teacher and the pupils say and do during a class session. Some of the investigations have gone beyond the descriptive material into a study of the relationships between the teacher's style of performance and the learning patterns of children.

Categorizing Teacher Style

A variety of more and less structured classroom observations have yielded various classifications of teacher style. For example, Flanders (1960) classified teachers as those who more often exert "direct influence," through lecturing, giving directions or criticizing student's work, and those who more often exert "indirect influence" through clarifying feelings, providing praise and encouragement, developing and making use of student ideas and asking questions.

Medley (1962) divided the teacher's performance into three broad categories: (1) his means of controlling the class, (2) his approach to the content, and (3) the interpersonal climate he creates. In the "control" category fell such behaviors as eliciting large amounts of pupil response, maintaining a high degree of order or permitting a high degree of pupil initiative. "Approach to content" included such procedures as emphasizing individualization or using interesting, original devices and materials. The "class climate" category included the teacher's consideration for pupils' problems and feelings, the degree of support given to pupil statements and responses, and the frequency with which reproof and criticism were used.

More clearly defined, perhaps, are the three dimensions of teacher style suggested by Ryans (1963). The first is a personal dimension ranging from

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The dimensions suggested by Ryans are sufficiently independent of each other so that a teacher may be at a different point along that scale on each one. For example, one teacher may be characterized as warm, businesslike, and stimulating; another as warm, business-like but dull; or one might even be seen as aloof, business-like and stimulating. Each dimension represents a continuum, and for most teachers there will be a characteristic point along its baseline.

Categorizing Verbal Behavior

The studies mentioned above have concentrated on the teacher's stance, his characteristic mode of behavior, the flavor of his performance, and his attitudes toward his task. Little attention was paid to the handling of content, the skill of questioning, the organization of material, and the like. For aspects of the teacher's work which relate to the processes of handling content, one must turn to the work of B. Othanel Smith and his associates (1963). Here, the concern has been with the "logical operations" of teaching; with discovering ". . . how concepts, norms, laws, etc., are introduced, analyzed and manipulated in the course of instruction" (Smith et al., 1963, p. 2). Using large samples of electrically taped classroom sessions, the verbal behavior of both teachers and pupils was categorized into 13 "major acts"—such as defining, stating, reporting, opining, explaining, comparing and contrasting, classifying, etc. Such analyses made possible the description of a teacher's characteristic performance through quantifying the frequency with which his verbal behavior falls into one or another of the various categories. Eventually, it should become possible to discover to what extent the differential frequencies are a function of a pervasive style of teaching, a response to the inherent logic of a particular subject or phase of it or a reflection of the particular group of pupils being taught.

Relating Teacher Style to Pupil Achievement

But the analyses of teaching styles and logical operations, significant though they may be in supplying needed systematic information on the teaching process, have only just begun to shed light on two crucial questions: (1) What difference do these ways of teaching make? Do pupils, in general, come out with different kinds or amounts of learning when taught by teachers using one or another approach to teaching? (2) Does a par-

ticular teacher's style have more or less the same effect on all pupils under his tutelage? If not, are there ways of determining the characteristics of pupils who would fare better under one teaching style than under another?

Working with junior high school classes in mathematics and social studies, Flanders (1960) related teaching style to pupil achievement and degree of dependence. He reported that when learning goals were unclear, as in a new task, lecturing and giving directions increased the dependence of students on the teacher and tended to lower achievement. In general, he found that patterns of "indirect influence" resulted in greater content mastery and in more positive attitudes toward school than did the "direct influence" procedures. However, in classes designated as superior–where pupils' achievement was greatest and attitudes toward the teacher were most favorable–there was an element of flexibility in the teacher's influence patterns not found in below-average classrooms. In superior classes, teacher behavior was less predictable, "shifting from domination and close supervision" on some occasions, to "indirect participation" at other times. These studies also suggest that for pupils who tend to be dependent upon teacher direction and unable to pursue work on their own, a high level of "direct influence"–lecturing, criticizing, giving directions–tends to be associated with lower achievement than is apparent when more independent pupils are exposed to similar "direct" teaching procedures.

In their study of "The Language of Teaching," Bellack and Davitz (1963) analyzed tape-scripts of high school social studies classes studying a unit in economics. They identified four basic Pedagogical Moves: structuring, soliciting, responding, and reacting which "describe the verbal maneuvers of students and teachers . . . and set the framework for the analysis of meaning communicated in the classroom." Although the first phase of this research is largely descriptive, as are most of the other analyses of the verbal behavior of teaching, the data analysis will be used not only to categorize and describe but also to relate the linguistic variables to student learning and attitude change. In subsequent phases, Bellack plans to address himself more intensively to studying the functions of the various Pedagogical Moves–the recurring patterns or "cycles" of moves characteristic of a given teacher, and the relation between patterns of teacher verbal behavior and student performance.

Of special interest to the major concern of this paper is the work of Heil and his associates (1960). They hypothesized that "in a particular class, the teacher's behavior will evoke a certain amount of achievement with children of a given set of feelings and level of intelligence." On the basis of assessment instruments, 5th and 6th grade pupils in a New York City school were divided into four personality categories: (1) *Conformers*–characterized by incorporation of adult standards, high social orientation, control over impulses and emphasis on mature behavior; (2) *Opposers*–showing disturbed authority relationships, oppositional trends, pessimistic

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tone, intolerance of ambiguity and disappointment and frustration as central dynamics; (3) *Waverers*–described as anxious, ambivalent, fearful, floundering and indecisive, and (4) *Strivers*–showing marked drive for recognition, especially in school achievement, and exhibitionistic needs. The teachers were divided into three personality types–the *Turbulent*, the *Self-controlling*, and the *Fearful*.

Pupil achievement was contrasted for each pupil category under each teacher type. In general, when achievement was controlled for I.Q., the "strivers" achieved most, followed by the "conformers," then the "opposers" and showing least gains, the "waverers." Neither the "strivers" nor the "conformers" were significantly affected by teacher personality; but for the "opposers" and the "waverers," teaching style made a significant difference. For the last two groups, the "self-controlling" teachers, who maintained an orderly, workmanlike class, focused on structure and planning–but, at the same time, showed a sensitivity to children's feelings and emphasized interpersonal relations in the classroom–were most effective. The "turbulent" teachers–characterized by greater concern for ideas than for people, freedom of expression of strong feelings and attitudes, little patience with routine tasks, "sloppiness", and inconsistency–were more successful than either of the other types in teaching math and science. In the other subjects their success was limited to "strivers" and "conformers". The "turbulent" teachers were least successful with the "opposers" who evidenced the highest intolerance of ambiguity. The "fearful" teachers–anxious, dependent on the approval of supervisors and of the children, unable to bring structure and order to the teaching task, and highly variable in their behavior–were uniformly ineffective with all kinds of children except "strivers," who fared well regardless of the teacher.

Teachable Groups

A quite different approach to the study of the relationship between teacher style and pupil learning is found in Thelen's (1961) recent work on the formation of "teachable" groups. Since the 1930's repeated efforts at assessing the effects of "homogeneous" versus "heterogeneous" grouping or, in more modern parlance, broad and narrow ability range groups, have produced meager results. The findings, though apparently inconclusive, are consistent in reporting that in the absence of deliberate curricular modifications, grouping, on the basis of ability, has no significant effects on pupil achievement. But all of the grouping efforts were predicated on the assumption that if the class group is "homogeneous" with respect to intelligence or reading level or achievement in a particular subject, then, *ipso facto*, such a group becomes more "teachable." A teacher in such a group would accomplish more with the pupils than would be the case where the range of ability was wide. What was left out of the equation of "teachability" was the teacher's style of working and his perception of the kinds of pupils

with whom he tends to be most successful. From Thelen's (1961) work it would appear that I.Q. or achievement status are by no means the most significant determinants of the teacher's perception of "teachability." Thelen states that, in general ". . . teachers recognize four kinds of students: the good, the bad, the indifferent, and the sick. But the problem is that each teacher places different students in these categories, so that whatever is being judged is not primarily some characteristic of the student" (p. 226). He urges that ". . . the teachable students for one teacher may be quite different than for another, that the fit between teacher and teachable students primarily results in better meeting the teacher's most dominant needs . . . he is able with the teachable class to do more fully what he tries to do with his other classes . . . that successful grouping must take the teacher himself into account" (p. 220). Despite finding few differences in achievement between "teachable" and random groups, Thelen states: "We remain convinced that any grouping which does not in some way attempt to 'fit' students and teachers together can have only accidental success" (p. 221).

A significant implication of the studies of teacher characteristics, teaching process, and teachable groups is the recognition that variations in pupil attainment in the classroom are related to variations in teacher performance, and that a particular teacher affects different pupils differently. We are forced to question the stereotype of the "good teacher" and the "poor teacher," although there may be some few who would prove excellent for all pupils and many more who would be inadequate no matter what the assignment. Most teachers, however, vary in their effectiveness depending upon the characteristics of the pupils they confront, the opportunity to fulfill their expectations for themselves and for their class, the content of what they teach, and the extent to which the school provides them with what they perceive to be necessary facilitations.

TEACHERS FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

In discussing the problem of "teachable groups" Thelen (1961) points out that despite great individual differences in teachers' perception of who is teachable, there are some pupils–from 10 to 25 percent of the average school–whom *no* teacher includes among the teachable. His description of this group is reminiscent of what we know about the school behavior of children from disadvantaged areas, from city slums, and rural backwoods. Similarly, Heil's "opposers" and to some extent his "waverers" remind one of typical behaviors of disadvantaged children. In the great cities these children represent an increasing proportion of the total pupil population, far more than the 10 to 25 percent suggested by Thelen. And it is expected that by 1970 one out of every two pupils in large city schools will be "culturally disadvantaged."

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The approach to the problem of staffing schools in depressed areas requires several sequential efforts. The first step is to gain broad public acceptance of the assumption that disadvantaged pupils, though widely variable in their abilities and personal characteristics, nonetheless represent a describable group. That is, they represent a group which, although it overlaps other groups in many ways, has unique characteristics, stemming from common backgrounds, values and experiences. The second step is to characterize the teacher who is successful with culturally disadvantaged pupils–successful because the pupils in his classes achieve better than similar pupils in other teachers' classes and have more accepting attitudes toward school, toward the teacher, and toward learning. The third step involves re-examinations of teacher selection and education for staffing disadvantaged area schools.

Since there are no systematic data on what such teachers do, it may be worth while to create a hypothetical model of the "successful teacher of disadvantaged children." Our model can be constructed of implications from available research on teacher behavior, insights from impressionistic observations, and inferences from investigations of the characteristics of disadvantaged pupils and their social world. It may well be that several models of successful teachers will be needed to account for the great variety of pupils within the disadvantaged population. What is suggested here is a general outline which may have to be refined and subdivided to achieve optimum "fit" between pupils and teacher.

Hypothetical Model of the Successful Teacher of Disadvantaged Pupils

The teacher who is successful with any group of pupils is the one who respects the children in his classes and they, in turn, respect him. As teachers in slum schools look at their pupils, they see many children who are discouraged and defeated, even in the early grades, children who express their alienation from the school and the society it represents by aggressive acting-out behavior or by a kind of tuned-out lethargy and listlessness. There are frequent transgressions against the ethical, moral, and legal codes of society. Pupils seem to be making little effort to learn, show no desire to better themselves, to break out of the limits imposed upon them by their ignorance. The teacher may feel sorry for them, realizing the limiting circumstances of their lives. Or, he may be angered by their laziness, their lack of effort, believing that they could if they would, but they won't. Or, he may write them off as hopeless, too dumb to learn, taking up time and resources that could be better utilized by pupils with more ability and greater motivation.

But the successful teacher of disadvantaged children does respect his pupils–and not because he sees them through the rose-colored lenses of the romantic–finding "beauty" and "strength" where others see poverty

and cultural emptiness. On the contrary, he sees them quite realistically as different from his children and his neighbors' children, yet like all children coping in their own way with the trials and frustrations of growing up. And he sees them, unlike middle-class children, struggling to survive in the ruthless world of their peers, confused by the conflicting demands of the two cultures in which they live—the one of the home and the street and the neighborhood, the other of the school and the society that maintains it.

Like the anthropologist, the successful teacher views the alien culture of his pupils not as a judge, but as a student. He understands the backgrounds from which the children come, the values placed on various achievements, the kind of work and life to which they aspire. He recognizes and understands the reasons for their unwillingness to strive toward future goals, where such efforts provide little reward in the present.

He knows that many of the children bear the scars of intellectual understimulation in their early years. Familiar with the home life of the children, he knows how rarely they are helped to name the things they see and feel and bear, to recognize similarities and differences, to categorize and classify perceptions, to learn the word for the object, and the phrases through which to express an idea or a feeling.

The successful teacher is aware of the various family structures from which the children come: The matriarchal family in which no father is present; the home where there are two parents, but both working; where one or both parents are able-bodied but out of work, recipients of relief; where the father is disabled and stays home while the mother works; where an extended family—grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other relatives—live together. This teacher has seen the physical conditions in which the children live: their lack of privacy, the poor facilities, the absence of basic amenities. He knows the kinds of jobs the parents have, their aspirations for themselves and for their children, and what role they attribute to the school in shaping their child's future.

The teacher is aware of the ethnic group membership of his pupils and how such membership shapes the child's image of himself and of his world. He knows something about the history, traditions and social structures of the various ethnic groups, their unique culture patterns, their status in American society, the blocks and frustrations which they confront, and their perceptions of what life has in store for them.

He knows that the language of his pupils is closely tied to the life they lead. While it may represent a complete lack or a distortion of acceptable English, he recognizes its functional qualities for the pupils. Though this language is not "the coin of the realm," it often represents the only known and acceptable medium of exchange in the child's home or neighborhood.

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successful teacher has a sophisticated understanding of how a child's abilities are assessed and therefore a realistic perception of what these measurements describe and predict. He knows that native potential intelligence is, at least thus far, unmeasurable; that what tests measure is learned behavior, and that the learning results not only from the child's native ability but also from his total experience. Yet he realizes that many intellectual abilities, like some of those which enter into creative functioning are not measured by existing intelligence tests.

He is also aware that the tests provide a fairly accurate description of the child's present ability to handle academic material and, unless there is a significant expansion and reorganization of his experience, the tests will predict with fair reliability how the child will function academically in the future. The successful teacher accepts the test scores as a fair and valid measure of the child's present academic ability, while rejecting them as a measure of native intelligence.

These and many other anthropological and psychological data affect the style of the successful teacher of disadvantaged pupils. But while the anthropologist's task is to describe and compare behavior of various cultures, and the psychologist's to understand individual behavior, the teacher's job is to modify it. Therefore, he must use his knowledge about his pupils and the world in which they live to guide him as he attempts to open more and more doors for them, and to help them acquire the skills and knowledge with which to enter the new and open spaces which lie beyond. The successful teacher sees his task as preparing his pupils to make competent choices among potentially available alternatives. He is aware that with every passing year the rapidly automating economy affords less and less opportunities to the minimally educated, and more and more to the academically and technically trained, and he communicates this understanding to his pupils.

The successful teacher meets the disadvantaged child on equal terms, as person to person, individual to individual. But while he accepts, he doesn't condone. He sets clearly defined limits for his pupils and will brook few transgressions. He is aware that, unlike middle-class children, they rarely respond to exhortations intended to control behavior through invoking feelings of guilt and shame. He, therefore, sets the rules, fixes the boundaries, and establishes the routines with a minimum of discussion. Here he is impersonal, undeviating, strict, but never punitive. Within these boundaries the successful teacher is businesslike and orderly, knowing that he is there to do a job. But he is also warm and outgoing, adapting his behavior to the individual pupils in his class. He shows his respect and liking for his pupils and makes known his belief in their latent abilities.

He realizes the danger of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of expecting, and consequently finding a low level of achievement. He, therefore, lets

each pupil know that he expects more than the pupils thinks he can produce—but his standards are not so high as to become too remote to strive toward, and the attempt fraught with frustration. He rewards each tiny upward step, alert to every opportunity for honest praise, and, as much as possible, withholds harsh criticism and censure when progress is slow or entirely lacking. Above all, he is honest. He doesn't sentimentalize, doesn't pretend that a pupil's work is good when it isn't, doesn't condone unacceptable behavior.

The successful teacher is also something of a showman, coming to his task with an extensive repertory of carefully constructed scripts and props into which he breathes a sense of drama and high interest to capture the imagination of his pupils and hold their attention.

His repertory is not only extensive, providing a great variety of materials and teaching procedures tailored to the learning patterns of his pupils, it is also carefully catalogued to allow him to find what he needs quickly and efficiently.

As do other successful teachers, our model teacher has extensive knowledge of the content of the subjects he teaches. In fact, he knows it so well, that he has no need to rely on study guides. Like the knowledgeable native, he guides his pupils through his country without a Baedeker, relying rather on his own familiarity with its terrain to take them to the important sights by paths and highways not often known to the less sophisticated.

Like all composite portraits, this hypothetical model presents an idealized version of reality. The hypothetical teacher is described as a mature, well-integrated person who respects his difficult, unmotivated and apparently unteachable pupils. He communicates his respect by setting high but reachable expectations, by his impartial and consistent firmness and honesty, and by his warm personal regard for each individual. He combines the detached but completely accepting stance of the anthropologist observing cultural differences, with the active involvement and manipulative approach of the determined reformer, the educator, in the sense of one who *leads* his pupils *out* into the wider world. Though not a specialist in any one of the behavioral or social sciences, he gleans from each of them knowledge which helps him understand the behavior of his pupils, the meaning of their scores on tests of intelligence and aptitude, the realities of their present and future world, the demands which various social and vocational alternatives will make upon them. In addition, the model requires the teacher to have a wide repertoire of materials and procedures, the ability to devise new ways, to deviate from accepted procedures and courses of study—but always to be aware of the knowledges and skills the pupils must eventually acquire. If the hypothetical "successful teacher" were to be characterized in a single phrase it would be *ordered flexibility*.

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Examining the Hypothetical Model

The sketch presented here needs to be examined on two counts. First, it represents a hypothetical model, derived from inference and deduced from theoretical concepts. Before it is accepted, it must be verified through systematic observation, classification, and comparison of successful and unsuccesful teachers in "slums and suburbs."

But if the model in whole or in part does fit reality, if the characteristics described in the portrait do in fact approximate the characteristics which distinguish the successful teacher of disadvantaged pupils, then we must ask: How are we to get such teachers? Although the ideal presumably represented by this characterization can act only as a remote goal, how can it be approached?

It is simply nonsense to suppose that, even if the entire pool of existing teachers were screened, one would find enough people who resemble the hypothetical model to staff even a small proportion of the depressed-area schools. We must, therefore, look to teacher education to produce new teachers more nearly in the image of the model and to reshape the styles of those already in service. We return to the question of teachability, but this time with reference to the teacher as a student.

Approaching the Model Through Education

To what extent are the attributes of the model teachable? At least three of the aspects are of a cognitive nature and, for the reasonably bright and motivated student, can probably be approached through instruction: (1) mastery of subject matter; (2) the acquisition of an understanding of the major concepts from the behavioral and social sciences and their relevance to teaching disadvantaged children; and (3) the development of a repertoire of teaching strategies which hold promise for working with disadvantaged pupils. But to accomplish these three purposes alone would require a considerable reorganization and revision of undergraduate and graduate programs of teacher education, both pre-service and in-service.

Developing New Courses. The development of appropriate courses would require the intensive collaboration of social and behavioral scientists, faculties of education, and successful classroom teachers. Out of such collaboration can grow not only curricula which would lead to a better understanding of the child in his environment, but also new strategies, new methods, new materials based on the empirical evidence provided by the social scientist and the practical wisdom of the teachers and educators. This has been successfully done in the development of some of the new curricula for the secondary and elementary schools.

Laboratory Experiences. Given increased understanding and a repertory of appropriate teaching methods, the teacher can approach his task with greater openness, with less prejudice, and above all, with less fear. But

every young teacher needs a bridge by which to cross the chasm which separates "knowing about" from actually doing something. For the teacher confronted by a class of poorly motivated, often discouraged and difficult pupils, continuous assistance and reinforcement in the teaching situation are essential. In *Teachers for the Schools in Our Big Cities,* Harry Rivlin, Dean of Teacher Education of the City University of New York, outlined a variety of desired modifications in existing modes of teacher preparation for large city schools (Rivlin, 1962). He placed major stress on the importance of laboratory experiences, starting with observation, leading to limited participation, then to student teaching, and finally, to independent responsibility for instruction. At every stage, the future teacher, and then the newly appointed teacher to the difficult school, must work under close supervision, receiving both psychological and practical support from the college staff and from the master teachers in the schools.

Hunter College (Haubrick, 1962), in an effort to improve the preparation of teachers for depressed area schools, selected a group of students who expressed a willingness to remain as regularly appointed teachers in the same "most difficult" junior high schools in which they had accepted appointments as student teachers. As part of their training, they were seen more often than was customary by a member of the college faculty and worked closely with carefully selected cooperating teachers. They spent the last 10 weeks of their student teaching in full command of the class, under constant supervision. A number of these young men and women, in due course, took and passed the required examinations and were appointed as regularly licensed teachers to the same school in which they had taught as students. But the supervision and assistance continued, reinforcing their earlier learning and providing the needed support and encouragement.

Selection of Candidates. But so far, the discussion has not taken account of those less tangible, but perhaps most significant characteristics of our model: openness to and acceptance of differences in people, firmness and consistency, warmth and respect and, above all, flexibility. Can courses, laboratory experiences, or field work assignments be devised which will develop these characteristics? The descriptive material on teacher characteristics and teaching style referred to earlier sheds little light on the antecedents of the observed behavior. Do some teachers use more and others less "direct influence," for example, because they are, by nature, more or less directive as people? Were they ever so, from childhood on? Or, does their classroom behavior reflect their teacher training and education? Are some teachers relatively "unplanned" in their approach to teaching because they believe that too much planning restricts the participation of the pupils, and given evidence to the contrary, would become more organized and business-like? Or is their unplanned, "slipshod" approach to the classroom just one case of an unplanned and inconsistent approach to most life situations, a behavioral pattern unamenable to easy change through training?

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There are no simple answers to this crucial question. Perhaps, the training of teachers for the several areas of special education may be a case in point. In each area of exceptionality, teachers are exposed to technical knowledge of the medical, social, and psychological aspects of the disability with which they will work. Further, the teachers are instructed in ways of changing the general curriculum and adjusting both content and method to their special groups (Mackie and Williams, 1959). Such training has prepared large numbers of teachers who are successful in working with pupils normally viewed as difficult or unteachable.

But teachers who enter special education do so voluntarily. In fact, they select the special area in preference to teaching normal children. Their own natural styles may thus be suited to the work they select and the training falls on fertile ground. It is probably beyond common sense to expect any training to make of the potential secondary school teacher with a passion for communicating the ideas of the physical sciences, a fine teacher of retarded adolescents. To attempt to retrain the elementary school teacher who thrives on the rapid progress, the quick wit, the deep probing, and ingenious responses of his gifted pupils into a successful teacher of the dull and lethargic would be equally foolhardy.

Consider also: (1) The man or woman threatened by ambiguity, unable to adapt readily to unexpected circumstances, who functions adequately only in a meticulously ordered world; or (2) the basically weak, dominated person who seeks in the classroom, perhaps unconsciously, the opportunity to prove his power by bending others to his will; or, further (3) the bigot who clothes his prejudices in psychological theories of ethnic or class inferiority and is convinced, before he enters a classroom, that for all but a few disadvantag[illegible] children, schooling beyond the very minimum is a waste of the taxpayers [illegible]oney. Such prospective teachers may or may not be adequate for other teaching assignments—the compulsive character may well make a fine college professor somewhere--but they are probably not the kind of people who can be trained to fit the hypothetical model.

But then there are those prospective or practicing teachers who, although not completely free of prejudice, are yet not so bigoted as to resist attitudinal change in the face of new experiences. And some who may not be overly flexible in their approach are yet not immobilized by rigidity. Although somewhat at variance with the hypothetical model, the personalities, attitudes and values of some teachers would not be antithetical to those required by the model. For them we must assume, at least until proven wrong, that teacher education can produce greater consonance, better "fit" between what the pupils need in order to learn and what the teacher does in the act of teaching.

Developing Emotional Closeness. Since a considerable portion of teaching style derives from attitudes and values, teachers of disadvantaged children would need, in addition to cognitive learnings, experiences through

which to come emotionally close to the feelings, the anxieties, the aspirations of slum children and through which to examine their own feeling and reactions. Such efforts might include role-playing in situations where the teacher alternately takes the part of the child as he copes with various school and out-of-school problems, and of the teacher responding to life-like classroom situations.

Teachers' feelings and values might also be involved and reshaped through the study of literary works. The novel and the short story which, at their best, provide a penetrating and illuminating exposition of life's fundamental conflicts, often have the power to transport the reader into the lives of people unlike himself but who, nonetheless, share with him many aspects of the human predicament. Books which deal with changing attitudes across generations, with the transition of immigrant groups from their original ghettos to the broader American Society, with adaptations to bicultural life, with the effects of early disability or severe deprivation on the behavior of the adult, with the universal problems of the adolescent as well as with those unique to a given time or place—these and many other literary themes might be used effectively. For the literary art is often able to create acceptance where direct contact may engender rejection or contempt. The "safe remove" of literature enables the individual to view the problems of others with greater openness, especially if his reading is geared toward exploring his own feelings as they become enmeshed with the feelings and strivings of others.

Such special efforts, though desirable for all teachers, are especially needed for teachers of the disadvantaged, since they most often come from backgrounds which provide little familiarity or personal involvement with the life which their pupils live.

In short, it is proposed that if the hypothetical model stands up under rigorous examination as embodying the characteristics, the "style" of the successful teacher of disadvantaged children, then the idealized model can be approached (though rarely reached) through deliberate pre-selection, and by an expanded and reconstructed approach to pre-service and in-service teacher education. Given the relatively bright student or young teacher, not completely blocked by deeply rooted attitudes and personality structures antithetical to the desired characteristics, education may help shape him in the image of the model.

Attracting Teachers to Difficult Schools

But even assuming that there are ways to prepare successful teachers for depressed area schools, why should bright young people want to enter such a vocation? The realities are against such a choice. Teachers today are in a seller's market. There are many more vacancies than candidates, especially at the elementary level and in the sciences and mathematics, and teachers can choose the district in which they want to work. Suburban

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schools, for example, afford amenities which urban schools so often lack. But above all, because of their size and organization, the suburban schools more often give the teacher a sense that he is a professional, that he is respected in his job and can successfully carry out what he has set out to do. He can teach children and, in most instances, they learn.

What inducement does the slum school offer? The children are difficult, in the perceptions of many teachers now in these schools they are "unteachable." The supervision is inadequate and often hostile. Principals and their assistants are constantly harassed by continuous teacher turnover, uncovered classes, disciplinary problems in the school, involvement with the police and the courts, lack of appropriate or even adequate books and materials. They have little time and less energy to give their teaching staffs the needed help and support. Teachers, frustrated by their inability to induce learning in their pupils, often having no place to turn for help, resort to discipline-maintaining rather than teaching activities. In this process, the teacher loses all sense of professional commitment. Many feel as did a very young woman when asked how long she had taught before leaving the field. She said, "I haven't taught a day in my life, but I served a three-year sentence in junior high school X."

What awaits them in depressed area schools is well known to prospective teachers. In fact, in 1962 better than a third of the new teachers appointed to Manhattan schools declined the appointment. Although they had prepared to teach, they apparently preferred almost any other kind of employment or none at all, to teaching in a slum school.

No matter how excellent the preparation of teachers of disadvantaged children may become, no matter how much assistance is given both to pre-service students and to beginning teachers, teaching in slum schools will remain a difficult, often frustrating and very taxing job—far more so than teaching in the unruffled surrounding of tree-lined suburbia. What, then, will induce young people to become candidates for a hard life, deliberately to choose the slum over the suburb?

Perhaps the answer to this question requires the addition of still another characteristic to our hypothetical model, one that is most difficult to teach—idealism, dedication to a cause, the desire to help the have-nots, to render service. That openness to commitment exists in many young people is confirmed by the large numbers who apply for the Peace Corps, prepare for missionary work, or choose to work in settlements, in hospital schools, and in special schools for disturbed or retarded or otherwise handicapped children. These young people feel that they are answering a call, and they rise to its demands. We have also witnessed such behavior (perhaps too often) in times of revolution and war, when young men and women have willingly gone into hardship and danger for what they believed in. How can this spirit be harnessed for teaching in difficult schools, in the "underdeveloped" areas of our own great cities? Is there, to paraphrase William James, an

"educational equivalent of war?"

Perhaps each city needs to designate, as some have already begun to do, one or two schools in each depressed area which become service centers, open to view, for which teachers are carefully selected and in which they feel privileged to teach. Such schools could help to counteract the negative image now in the minds of prospective teachers. Those who are idealistic, who would like to perform a service, will see that there is hope; that the task, though difficult, can be done.

Helping the Teacher in Service. But even when colleges and universities have evolved the needed curricula and made them part of the total education of prospective teachers, when bright young people are motivated to enroll, even if the graduate programs incorporate the new developments into their courses for experienced teachers, the problem of staffing schools in depressed urban areas will be only slightly alleviated. Assistance must be given to the hundreds of thousands of teachers now serving in depressed-area schools. Obviously, no program of study can reach all teachers now in our schools through direct contact. But they could be reached and helped and encouraged by changing supervisory patterns, by re-educating existing supervisors where they may be amendable to such re-education, or by selecting from each school one teacher who comes closest to the model and exposing him to a special program. Such teachers could return to their schools as supervisors, master teachers, or team leaders. From them could be formed the corps of cooperating teachers responsible for training students.

Problems of School Organization. The problem of staffing disadvantaged-area schools must be attacked simultaneously on many fronts. We must confront the fact that teachers for difficult schools need special training. We must reshape the program of teacher preparation, attract capable young people to such programs and help them as they move through their apprenticeship into full professional status. And we must also provide a corps of trained master teachers and supervisors who will bring skills and hope to the hundreds of thousands of teachers now in service.

But there is still another front upon which the attack must be launched —making changes in the amenities and management of the schools. Some of these are easy changes to make, because they do not require devising new courses or reshaping attitudes and values. All that they require is some additional money—simple things like providing a safe parking place, a comfortable lunch, and rest room; of giving the teacher, especially at the elementary level, some relief during the day. Each school must make provisions for removing the one or two most difficult children from regular classrooms so that classes may become more teachable, lessening the teacher's sense of frustration and enhancing his sense of fulfilling his professional responsibility.

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supervisory personnel, both in the school and from affiliated teacher education institutions, need to be provided. The presence in each school of staff members—eventually trained in the new approaches—whose sole responsibility would be to help teachers, unburdened by administrative or disciplinary matters, might prove especially helpful. Perhaps if the supervisory load is spread, principals will be less harassed, less afraid of trouble, less apt to reward the teacher who maintains a quiet classroom, and more respectful of the teachers as people and as professionals.

The solution of any problem requires first, a clear recognition and description of the problem; secondly, a concerted research and experimental effort; and thirdly, the implementation of what is already known or what is learned through systematic study. To approach a solution to the problem of staffing schools in disadvantaged areas and providing competent teachers to work with disadvantaged children requires the following steps: (1) Open recognition that slum schools and disadvantaged children need uniquely prepared teachers. (2) Systematic study of the personal qualities, knowledge, and skills needed for successful teaching in these situations. (3) Development and experimental testing of reconstructed teacher education programs, both on campus and in the field. (4) Screening of candidates to eliminate those students or young teachers now in service whose values and personality characteristics are in conflict with the desired teaching style. (5) Raising the status of the disadvantaged-area teacher to that of a high calling, by invoking all available reward systems. (6) Initiating systematic changes to make the schools more livable for the teacher, the teaching experience less frustrating, and the supervision more professional. Such efforts can go a long way toward raising the morale and the effectiveness of those presently teaching, and toward bringing into the teaching force many able young people who will not only come but will stay.

It is, of course, a romantic notion to suppose that even the best qualified teachers will, through their efforts alone, solve all the social problems which shape the lives of disadvantaged children. The work of other agencies in the community needs to be integrated with the work of the school. The more effective the school becomes, the more help both the child and the family will need to understand and accept his changed behaviors and increased academic success and aspirations. But if the presently disadvantaged child is not to be fettered by his ignorance, not to be relegated to the ranks of the unemployable in a society which provides increasing opportunities to the academically competent and has less and less room for the functional illiterate, then the school has a central role to play. And central to the school, to the development and achievement of the child is the teacher.

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